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THE PHILOSOPHY OF DETENTE

ANNCR:

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER'S LATEST NEWS CONFERENCE (WEDNESDAY) AFFORDS NEWS ANALYST FRED GALVAN AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE AMERICAN DIPLOMAT'S PHILOSOPHY ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

VOICE:

TO UNDERSTAND THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO THE POLICY OF EASING TENSIONS WITH MOSCOW, ANSWERS MUST BE FOUND FOR A SERIES OF KEY QUESTIONS. WHAT ARE THE ROOTS OF THAT POLICY? WHY DID THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION JOINTLY ENDORSE IT IN 1972? HOW HAVE EACH OF THEM PRACTICED THAT POLICY? WHAT HAS EACH GOTTEN OUT OF IT? AND, FINALLY, WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF THE JOINT EFFORT TO EASE WORLD TENSIONS?

SECRETARY KISSINGER PROVIDED SOME OF THE ANSWERS THIS WEEK AT HIS WEDNESDAY NEWS CONFERENCE. AND HE PROVIDED SOME OTHERS AT HIS SIMILAR MEETING WITH REPORTERS LAST MONTH, ON DECEMBER TWENTY-THIRD. AT BOTH NEWS CONFERENCES, DOCTOR KISSINGER DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE TIME TO EXPLAINING THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S PERCEPTION OF THE POLICY OF EASING TENSIONS -- HE AVOIDED USE OF THE WORD "DETENTE" AS POSSIBLE SHORTHAND OVER-SIMPLIFICATION.

AT THE HEART OF THE AMERICAN PERCEPTION OF DETENTE IS WHAT SECRETARY KISSINGER IN BOTH NEWS CONFERENCES DESCRIBED AS THE REALITIES OF TODAY'S WORLD. IN RECOGNITION OF THOSE REALITIES, BOTH WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW RECOGNIZED THE NEED TO AVOID SITUATIONS WHICH COULD PROVOKE A DANGEROUS EXACERBATION

OF THEIR RELATIONS. THEY ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ANY ARRANGEMENT TO EASE TENSIONS BETWEEN THEM INEVITABLY WOULD FOUNDER IF EITHER SIDE TRIED TO OBTAIN A UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE OVER THE OTHER, MILITARILY, POLITICALLY OR ECONOMICALLY. AND IN THE DECLARATION BOTH POWERS SIGNED IN MOSCOW IN MID-1972 THEY PLEDGED THEMSELVES TO AVOID ANY SUCH SITUATIONS. BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZED THAT AN EASING OF TENSIONS IN NO WAY IMPLIED ANY COMPATIBILITY OF THEIR IDEOLOGIES, BUT THAT A STABLE RELATIONSHIP HAD TO OFFER ADVANTAGES TO BOTH SIDES. IN OTHER WORDS, BOTH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON TACITLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WHILE IT IS RARELY EXCUSABLE TO MAKE DEALS WITH THE DEVIL, IT IS ALWAYS PERMISSIBLE AND EVEN DESIRABLE TO NEGOTIATE WITH AN ADVERSARY -- FOR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE.

THIS IS THE FRAMEWORK THAT BROUGHT INTO EXISTENCE A SPATE OF AGREEMENTS BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON AND, BY EXTENSION SUCH MULTILATERAL ACCORDS AS THE HELSINKI DECLARATION ON EUROPEAN SECURITY, AND OTHER BILATERAL AGREEMENTS COVERING TRADE, CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES BY BOTH SIDES.

BUT SINCE THAT DATE FOUR YEARS AGO, THE AMERICAN PERCEPTION OF HOW THE SOVIET UNION READS ITS COMMITMENT UNDER DETENTE HAS UNDERGONE A CERTAIN CHANGE. THE CURRENT SITUATION IN ANGOLA, IN PARTICULAR, HAS CONSTITUTED A RUDE SHOCK FOR AMERICAN DEFENDERS OF DETENTE AND HAS FED AMMUNITION TO THOSE WHO OPPOSE THAT POLICY. THE MASSIVE SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, AS SECRETARY KISSINGER INDICATED, COULD EVEN AFFECT NEXT WEEK'S TALKS IN MOSCOW WITH SOVIET LEADERS ON AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS. AS SECRETARY KISSINGER AND PRESIDENT FORD HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID, SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA DOES CONSTITUTE A

DANGER TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON.

IT IS FAIR TO ASSUME THAT THIS IS THE MESSAGE THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL EXPRESS AS HE MEETS WITH SOVIET LEADERS NEXT WEEK. IT WILL BE COUCHED IN TERMS URGING THEM TO ONCE MORE USE THE RESTRAINT THAT THEIR ACCORD WITH WASHINGTON IN 1972 IMPOSED ON BOTH SIDES.

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